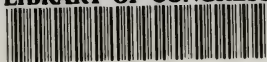


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ENGLAND AND AMERICA :

SPEECH

OF

HENRY WARD BEECHER

AT THE

FREE-TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER,

OCTOBER 9, 1863.

REPRINTED FROM THE MANCHESTER "EXAMINER AND TIMES."

Boston:

JAMES REDPATH, PUBLISHER,

221 WASHINGTON STREET.

1863.

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S P E E C H.

A MEETING was held last night in the Free-trade Hall, according to announcement, "to welcome the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, on his public appearance in this country." The hall was extremely crowded, and there were probably six thousand persons present. It was supposed, from the paper-war of placards for the last fortnight, that the meeting might be disturbed by partisans of the Confederate States. Arrangements had, therefore, been made for the prompt suppression of disorder; and notices to that effect were posted about the room. The chair was taken, at half-past six, by Mr. Francis Taylor. At the same time, the entrance of Mr. Beecher, accompanied by Mr. Bazley, M.P., and some prominent members of the Union and Emancipation Society, was the signal for enthusiastic and repeated cheering. The following were among the gentlemen present: Mr. Thomas Bazley, M.P.; Rev. Dr. Parker, Manchester; Rev. J. B. Paton, Sheffield; Mr. W. P. Roberts, Manchester; Mr. Councillor Williams, Salford; Rev. Richard Jones, Manchester; Rev. J. Bertram, Manchester; Mr. Samuel Bennett, Manchester; Mr. W. Heywood, Manchester; Mr. James Galloway, Manchester; Mr. Frederick Cooper, Manchester; Mr. Councillor Clegg, Manchester; Mr. Joseph Spence, Manchester; Rev. P. Prout, Haslingden; Mr. A. Ireland, Mr. Joseph Leese, Mr. Charles Bury, Mr. H. Dunckley: Rev. G. M'Gregor, Farnworth; Mr. R. Cooper, Manchester; Mr. J. R. Cooper, .

Manchester ; Rev. J. Dunckley, Heywood ; Rev. W. Duckins, Middlewich ; Rev. W. Hanson, Manchester ; Rev. J. Turner, Farnworth ; Rev. J. M'Pherson, Manchester ; Rev. R. Cliff, Bury ; Rev. W. Sykes ; Rev. W. H. Davidson ; Rev. R. Best, Bolton ; Rev. J. S. Hill, Pendleton ; Rev. J. P. Taylor, Darlington ; Rev. G. Robinson, Over Darwen ; Rev. G. Pywell, Stockport ; Mr. D. Mills, Bowdon ; Mr. S. P. Robinson, Manchester ; Rev. G. Waldon, Manchester ; Rev. J. Morgan, Rev. W. Shuttleworth, Manchester ; Rev. J. Taylor, Manchester ; Rev. O. B. Beadwell, America ; Rev. T. G. Lee, Salford ; Mr. Robert Smith, Manchester ; Mr. W. Boyd, Glossop ; Mr. T. Roberts, Manchester ; Mr. J. B. Whitehead, Rawtenstall ; Mr. J. C. Edwards, Manchester ; Mr. T. R. Whitehead, Rawtenstall ; Mr. E. O. Greening, Manchester ; Mr. S. Watts, Jun., Manchester ; Mr. J. C. Dyer, Burnage ; Mr. Councillor T. Warburton, Manchester ; Mr. T. H. Barker, Manchester ; Mr. J. H. Estcourt, Manchester ; and Mr. P. Sinclair, Manchester. Padre Gavazzi was in one of the reserved seats below the platform. The first row was occupied by forty of the students of the Lancashire Independent College.

One of the honorable secretaries (Mr. Greening) stated that the following letter had been addressed to his colleague, Mr. Edwards, and himself, by their president, from Scotland : —

PITNACREE, DUNKELD, October 8, 1863.

GENTLEMEN : — I regret that I shall not be able to be with you on Friday, to join in your welcome to the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, as I am suffering from the effects of severe influenza. I have firm faith that, purified from the plague-spot of slavery, the Republic will emerge in its integrity from this war with renewed life and vigor. I desire, however, most earnestly to impress upon the working-men of Manches-

ter, that the struggle now going on in America is their own battle ; for on the maintenance of the great Republic in the West, depends in a great degree the progress of popular institutions all over the world. This, the enemies of freedom well know ; and therefore imperial influences abroad, as well as selfish and oligarchical sympathies at home, are brought to bear in favor of the slave-holding conspirators. Mr. Beecher will be able to tell his fellow-countrymen that, whoever else be against them, the hearts of the working-men of England, and I believe throughout Europe, beat in unison with those who are fighting the battle of freedom on the other side of the Atlantic.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER.

The Honorable Secretaries of the Union and Emancipation Society.

(Prolonged applause.) Letters also had been received from Mr. W. E. Forster, M. P. for Bradford, (cheers,) and Mr. Bright, M. P., (prolonged cheering,) regretting their inability to be present. Mr. Bright said, "I am grieved to be away from home when Mr. Beecher is in the neighborhood." (Loud cheers.)

The chairman said he felt proud of the honor of chairmanship conferred upon him on this occasion ; and, in reliance upon their kind forbearance, he would endeavor to discharge the duties to the best of his ability. (Applause.) He could promise that the preliminary proceedings should not be long. They had come together to welcome the Rev. H. W. Beecher, on his first public appearance in England, (loud cheers) ; and, notwithstanding all the attempts which had been made in public and in private to deter persons from being present, he was happy to see such a large and crowded assembly. (Cheers.)

Mr Greening read the following address : —

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR : AS members of the Union and Emancipation Society, we avail ourselves of this, your first public appearance in England, after a tour undertaken for the purpose of relaxation, to welcome you, not only as a citizen of a great and free country, but as one who, for a long series of years, has been a prominent and successful pioneer in the cause of human progress. Though separated from you by the broad Atlantic, we have been earnest spectators of your fearless and persistent advocacy of the personal rights of the colored race, amidst many perils and dangers unmoved alike by the blandishments of office, or the threats of opponents ; and also of your consistent adherence to the principles of political and religious liberty. We deeply deplore the dreadful calamity which has come upon your native country ; but, believing as we do, that its sole cause is to be found in that sum of all villanies, human slavery, we recognize in it the hand of retributive justice working out the inevitable punishment of wrong-doing, and overtaking not only the Southern slave-holder, whose hands are imbued with guilt, but our own country, from which you inherited this hideous institution, and the Free States of America which have tolerated its existence. Living ourselves under a constitutional government, and having firm faith in representative institutions, we viewed with alarm the outbreak of a rebellion, which its promoters avowed to be an attempt to raise an empire on the "corner-stone of slavery," and which was essentially a rebellion against free constitutional government, and an appeal from the ballot-box to the rifle. The success of such a rebellion would place constitutional liberty in jeopardy everywhere, and we congratulate you and your countrymen on the determined stand you have made to maintain unimpaired the great Republic which has been handed down to you by your forefathers, and thus to present to the world a noble spectacle of self-denying patriotism. We rejoice that your statesmen, while maintaining that the restoration of the Union is a sacred obligation, have been led, step by step to the recognition of the rights of the negro ; thus vindicating the consistency of those who have labored in the anti-slavery cause for a quarter of a century, in the midst of obloquy and misrepresentation, supported only by their firm

faith in the eternal principles of right and justice ; and establishing for them a claim to the heartfelt gratitude of the lovers of freedom everywhere. In conclusion, we venture to hope that your visit may be the means of correcting some of the misrepresentations, as to the position of this country in regard to the American struggle, which have been assiduously spread by certain portions of the press, and of cementing the bonds of amity, which ought forever to bind together in peace the two great representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race — England and America. The cordial alliance of these two powers may not be consistent with the designs of despotism, or be approved by the enemies of liberty here or elsewhere ; but, being one in race, language, religion, and love of freedom, they may thus lead the van of civilization, and bid defiance to the shocks which jealousy or suspicion might bring upon them. In the firm hope that such a future may be in store for your country and ours, we bid you God speed in the enterprise in which you have been so long engaged, and borne such a noble part.

(Signed)

THOMAS BAYLEY POTTER, President.

On behalf of the Union and Emancipation Society.

Mr. Bazley, M. P., in a speech of some length, and which was much applauded, moved the adoption of the address by the meeting.

Mr. Estcourt seconded the motion.

The chairman then put the resolution, and thousands of hands were thrust up high above the heads of the dense audience. After an interval of loud cheers, the chairman put the contrary, and, amidst peals of derisive laughter and cheers, about fifty hands were held up.

The chairman : I declare the resolution carried by a majority of five hundred to one. (Enthusiastic cheering.) The chairman, in handing the address to Mr. Beecher, expressed a hope that the reverend gentleman would long have health to continue his famed career.

The Rev. Mr. Beecher then turned to the audience to speak, but for several minutes he was prevented by deafening cheers, followed by a few hisses, which only provoked a renewed outburst of applause.

Mr. Beecher then said : —

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : The address which you have kindly presented to me contains matters both personal and national. (Interruption.) My friends, we will have a whole night session but we will be heard ! (Loud cheers.) I have not come to England to be surprised that those men whose cause cannot bear the light are afraid of free speech. (Cheers.) I have had practice of more than twenty-five years in the presence of mobs and riots, opposing those very men whose representatives now attempt to forestall free speech. (Hear.) Little by little, I doubt not, I shall be permitted to speak to-night. (Hear.) Little by little, I have been permitted, in my own country, to speak, until at last the day has come there when nothing but the utterance of speech for freedom is popular. (Cheers.) You have been pleased to speak of me as one connected with the great cause of progress in civil and religious liberty. I covet no higher honor than to have my name joined as one among the list of that great company of noble Englishmen from whom we derived our doctrines of liberty. (Cheers.) For although I understand there is some opposition to what are called American ideas, what are these American ideas ? The seed-corn we got in England — (hear) ; and if, on a larger sphere, and under circumstances of unobstruction, we have reared mightier sheaves, every sheaf contains the grain that has made old England rich for a hundred years. (Great cheering.) I am, also, not a little gratified that my first appearance to speak on secular topics in England is in this

goodly town of Manchester, for I had rather have praise from men who understand the quality praised, than from those who speak at hazard, and with little acquaintance with the subject. (Hear.) And where else, more than in these great central portions of England, have the doctrines of human rights been battled for, and where else have there been gained for them nobler victories than here? (Cheers.) It is not indiscriminate praise, therefore; you know what you talk about. You have had practice in these doctrines yourselves, and to be praised by those who are illustrious is praise indeed. (Cheers.)

Allusion has been made by one of the gentlemen — a cautionary allusion, a kind of deference evidently paid to some supposed feeling — an allusion has been made to words or deeds of mine, that might be supposed to be offensive to Englishmen. (Hear.) I cannot say how that may be. I am sure that I have never thought, in the midst of this mighty struggle, which has taxed every power and energy in our land — (“Oh,” and cheers) — I have never stopped to measure and to think whether my words, spoken for truth and fidelity to duty, would be liked in this shape or in that shape, by one or another person. (Cheers.) I have had one simple, honest purpose, which I have pursued ever since I have been in public life, and that was, with all the strength that God has given to me, to maintain the cause of the poor and of the weak in my own country. (Cheers.) And if, in the height and heat of conflict, some words have been over sharp, and some positions have been taken heedlessly, are you the men to call one to account? (Hear.) What if some exquisite French dancing-master, standing on the edge of a battle, where some Richard Cœur de Leon swung his axe, criticised him, by saying that “it violated the propriety

of the dancing-room in the midst of battle." (Laughter.) When dandies fight, they think how they look, but when men fight, they think about what they are doing. (Cheers.)

But I am not here either on trial or on defence. (Hear, hear.) I am very willing to tell you what I think about England, or anybody, but I am not willing to tell you what I think about myself. (Cheers.) Let me say one word, however, in the beginning, in regard to this meeting, and the peculiar gratification which I feel in it. I have ground, and God is my judge, and bears witness to the truth of what I say. I can return to my countrymen, and bear witness to the cordial kindness of Englishmen towards America. (Cheers.) There has been serious doubt. The same agencies which have been at work to misrepresent good men in our country to you, have been at work to misrepresent to us good men here; and when I say to my friends in America that I have attended such a meeting as this, received such an address, and beheld such enthusiasm, it will be a renewed pledge of amity. (Cheers.) I have never ceased to feel that war between two such great nationalities as these would be one of the most unpardonable and atrocious offences that the world ever beheld — (cheers) — and I have regarded everything, therefore, which needlessly led to this feeling, out of which war comes, as being in itself wicked. (Cheers.) The same blood is in us. (Cheers.) We are your children, or the children of your fathers and ancestors. You and we hold the same substantial doctrines. (Cheers, and cries of "Turn him out.") We have the same mission amongst the nations of the earth. Never were mother and daughter set forth to do so queenly a thing in the kingdom of God's glory as England and America. (Cheers.) And if you ask why we are so sensitive, and why have we hewn England with our tongue

as we have, I will tell you why. There is no man who can offend you so deeply as the one you love most. (Loud cheers.) Men point to France and Napoleon, and say he has been joint, step by step, in all England has done, and why are the press of America silent against France, and why do they speak as they do against England? It is because we love England. (Cheers.)

I have lived through a whole period and revolution of feeling. I remember very well in my boyhood the then recent war of 1812, and the embers kindled in the Revolutionary War of independence, an almost universal feeling against the Britishers, as they were called, and I have seen that feeling little by little dying out; and, what with common commercial interests, with reciprocal blessings in civility and in religion, with multiplied interchanges of friendly visits, there has come to be a feeling in America most cordial and admiring of England. For when we searched our principles, they all run back to rights in English history; when we looked at those institutions of which we were most proud, we beheld that the foundations of them, and the very foundation stones, were taken from your history; when we looked for those men that had illustrated our own tongue, — orators, or eloquent ministers of the gospel, — they were English; we borrowed nothing from France but here a fashion and there a gesture or a custom, but what we had to dignify humanity — that made life worth having — were all brought from Old England. (Cheers.) And do you suppose that under such circumstances, with this growing love, with this growing pride, with this gladness to feel that we were being associated in the historic glory of England, because both you and we belong to a race — to the Anglo-Saxon race — do you suppose that it was with feelings of indifference that we beheld in our midst the heir-apparent

to the British throne? (Cheers.) There is not reigning on the globe a sovereign who commands our simple, unpretentious, and unaffected respect, as your own beloved Queen in America. (Loud cheers.) I have heard multitudes of men say that if there was nothing for the heir-apparent, it was their joy and their pleasure to pay respect to him, that his mother might know that through him the compliment was meant to her. (Loud cheers.) It was an unarranged and unexpected, spontaneous and universal outbreak of popular enthusiasm; it began in the colonies of Canada, the fire rolled across the border, all through New England, all through New York and Ohio, down through Pennsylvania and the adjacent States; nor was the element quenched until it came to Richmond. I said, and many said, the past of enmity and prejudice is now rolled away down below the horizon of memory, a new era is come, and we have set our hand and voices as a sacred seal to our cordial affection and coöperation with England. (Cheers.) Now (whether we interpreted it aright or not is not the question) when we thought England was seeking opportunity of going with the South against us of the North, it hurt us as no other nation's conduct could hurt us on the face of the globe; and if we spoke some words of intemperate heat, we spoke them in the mortification of disappointed affection. (Cheers.) It has been supposed that I have aforetime urged or threatened war with England. Never. (Cheers, followed by a few groans, in reference to which the speaker remarked: "I have spoken on the prairies where buffaloes bellowed before." The observation provoked loud laughter.) This I have said, — and this I repeat now, and here, — that the cause of constitutional government and of universal liberty, as associated with it in our country was so dear, so sacred, that rather than betray it,

we would give the last child we had ; that we would not relinquish this conflict though other States rose, and entered into a league with the South ; and that, if it were necessary, we would maintain this great doctrine of representative government in America against the armed world — against England and France. (Great cheering, followed by some disturbance, in reference to which the chairman rose and cautioned an individual under the gallery whom he had observed persisting in interruption.) Let me be permitted to say, then, that it seems to me the darker days, in so far as embroilment between this country and America is concerned, are past. (Cheers.) The speech of Earl Russell (renewed cheering) will go far toward satisfying our people. Understand me ; we shall not accept his views of the past, and the doctrines which he has propounded. (Cheers.) But the statement of the present attitude of the government of Great Britain, and its intentions for the future, coupled with the detention of those armed ships of war, — that will take away the sting from the minds of our people. (Hear, hear.) And, although we differ with you in respect to the great doctrine of belligerency, the time is past to discuss that, except as a question of history and of civil law. We have drifted so far away from the period in which it was of any use to discuss that, and the circumstances of the war and your circumstances have so far changed, that now we can no longer stop to discuss whether it was or was not right for Great Britain to assume this position she has assumed. She has for years acted upon it and will not change it ; and now all that we can ask is, — Let there be a thorough neutrality. (Loud cheers.) I believe there will be one. (Resumed cheers.) If you do not send us a man, we do not ask for a man. If you do not send us another pound of powder, we are able to make our

own powder, (Laughter.) If you do not send us another musket, nor another cannon, we have cannon that will carry five miles already. (Laughter.) We do not ask for material help. We shall be grateful for moral sympathy (cheers); but if you cannot give us moral sympathy, we shall still endeavor to do without it. But all that we say is, Let France keep away, let England keep hands off; if we cannot manage this rebellion by ourselves, then it shan't be managed at all. (Cheers.)

The question of war, under the circumstances in which war is now carried on in our country, is simply a question of time. (Cheers.) The population is with the North. The wealth is with the North. (Cheers.) The education is with the North. (Cheers.) The right doctrines of civil government are with the North. (Cheers, and a voice, "Where's the justice?") It will not be long before one thing more will be with the North, — victory. (Loud and enthusiastic rounds of cheers.) Men on this side are impatient at the long delay; but if we can bear it, can't you? (Laughter.) You are quite at ease ("Not yet"); we are not. You are not materially affected in any such degree as many parts of our own land are now. (Cheers.) But if the day shall come in one year, in two years, or in ten years hence, when the old stars and stripes shall float over every State of America — (Loud cheers and some disturbance from one or two.) Oh, let him (the chief disturber) have a chance. (Laughter.) We will take a turn about: I will say the sentences, and you shall make the responses. (Laughter.) I am a Congregationalist, but I can make a very good Episcopal minister, too. (Loud laughter.) I was saying, when interrupted by that sound from the other side of the house, that if the day shall come, in one or five or ten years, in which the

old honored and historic banner shall float again over every State of the South; if the day shall come when that which was the accursed cause of this dire and atrocious war — slavery — shall be done away, (cheers); if the day shall have come when through all the Gulf States there shall be liberty of speech, as there never has been, (cheers); if the day shall come when there shall be liberty of the press, as there never has been; if the day shall come when men shall have common schools to send their children to, which they never have had in the South; if the day shall come when the land shall not be parcelled in gigantic plantations, in the hands of a few rich oligarchs (loud cheers,), but shall be parcelled out to honest farmers, every man owning his little (renewed cheers); in short, if the day shall come when the simple ordinances, the fruition and privileges of civil liberty, shall prevail in every part of the United States, it will be worth all the dreadful blood, and tears, and woe. (Loud cheers.) You are impatient; and yet God dwelleth in eternity, and has an infinite leisure to roll forward the affairs of men, not to suit the hot impatience of those who are but children of a day, and cannot wait or linger for long, but according to the infinite circle on which he measures time and events. He expedites or retards as it pleases him; and if he heard our cries or prayers, not thrice would the months revolve but peace would come. But the strong crying and prayers of millions have not brought peace, but only thickening war. We accept the Providence; the duty is plain. (Cheers and interruption.) I repeat, the duty is plain. (Cheers.) So rooted is this English people in the faith of liberty, that it were an utterly hopeless task for any minion or sympathizer of the South to sway the popular sympathy of England, if this English people believed that this was none

other than a conflict between liberty and slavery. It is just that. (Loud cheers.) I am here, to be sure, in some points to cite history, but for the most part I stand a witness to testify what I have seen of things, with which I have intimately mingled, which have been common to me since my boyhood, — things which I do know, and which history will establish beyond all peradventure or controversy.

But let me go back a little before my time, for I am not yet one hundred years old. (Laughter.) Slavery was introduced into our country at a time, and in a manner, when England nor America knew well what were the results of that atrocious system. It was ignorantly received and propagated on our side ; little by little it spread through all the thirteen States that then were ; for slavery in the beginning was in New England, such as now it is in the Southern States. But when the great struggle of our Revolution came on, the study of the doctrines of human rights had made such progress that the whole public mind began to think it was wrong to wage war to defend our rights, while we were holding men in slavery, depriving them of theirs. It is an historical fact, that all the great and renowned men that flourished at the period of our Revolution were abolitionists. Washington was ; so was Benjamin Franklin ; so was Thomas Jefferson ; so was James Monroe ; so were the principal Virginian and Southern statesmen ; and the first abolition society ever founded in America was founded not in the North, but in the Middle and a portion of the Southern States. (Cheers.) After the Declaration of Independence, and the adoption of our Constitution, slavery began to cease. It never had been a very abundant institution in New England, because the habits of the people and their conscientious convictions did not make them great friends of slavery. It has been said, they sold

their slaves, and preached a cheap emancipation to the South. Slavery ceased in this wise in Massachusetts. Suit was brought for the services of a slave, and the Chief Justice declared the declaration of the equality of all men and their right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness was equivalent to a bill of emancipation, and he refused to render back that slave's services. At a later period, New York brought an emancipation act. It has been said that she sold her slaves. No slander was ever greater. The most careful provision was made. No man travelling out of the State of New York, after the passing of the emancipation act, was permitted to have any slave with him, unless he gave bonds for his reappearance with him. As a matter of fact the slaves were emancipated without compensation on the spot, to take effect gradually class by class. But after a trial of half a score of years, the people found this gradual emancipation was intolerable. (Hear, hear.) It is like gradual amputation. They therefore met together, and by another act of legislation they declared immediate emancipation (hear), and that took effect; and so slavery perished in the State of New York. Substantially so it was in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania; substantially so it may be said, in respect to the Northern States, that there never was an example of nations that emancipated slaves so purely from moral conviction of the wrong of slavery. I know that it is said that Northern capital and Northern ships were employed in the slave trade. To an extent it was so. But is there any community that lives in which there are not miscreants who violate the public feeling? (Cheers.) Then and since, the man who dared to use his capital and his ships in this infamous traffic hid himself, and did by agents what he was ashamed to be known to have done himself. (Hear.) No man in the North who had

part or lot in this infamous traffic in slaves, but would have been branded with the mark of Cain. (Cheers.) It is true that New York port has been employed in this infernal traffic, but it was because it was unfortunately under the influence either of that democratic party that is in alliance with the Southern slavery (hear, hear), or because it was under the dark political control of the South itself. For when the South could appoint our marshals, when the South appointed through the administration the secretaries of the treasury, and the officers of the custom-houses in all parts of the country, when everything by the political machinery of the South was favoring slavery, it could not but be that there should be the running of the gauntlet in our ports, and that the slave-trade should be carried on ; but it was by the immense majority of the people abhorred, and the men who did it were detested. (Cheers.) There was one Judas ; is Christianity therefore a hoax ? (Hear.) There are hissing men in this audience ; are you not respectable ? (Cheers and laughter.) The folly of the few is that light which God casts to irradiate the wisdom of the many. (Hear.) But when the Constitution itself was formed, there was such a feeling opposed to slavery that you are familiar with the fact that Mr. Madison and Mr. Randolph refused to permit the word "servitude" to go into that document, and on this express ground, that the time would come when slavery was to end, and that they would not have the memorial of such a disgrace remaining in the great charter of our liberties. (Cheers.) So the word was changed from "servitude" to "service." (Hear.)

And let me say one word here about the Constitution of America. It recognizes slavery as a fact ; but it does not recognize the doctrine of slavery in any way whatever. It

was a fact. It lay before the ship of state as a rock lies in the channel of the ship as she goes into harbor; and because a ship steers round a rock, does it follow that that rock is in the ship? ("Hear," and laughter.) And because the Constitution of the United States made some circuits to steer round that great fact, does it follow that therefore slavery is recognized in the Constitution as a right or system? (No.) See how carefully that immortal document worded itself. In the slave laws, the slave is declared to be — what? Expressly, and by the most repetitious phraseology, he is denuded of all the attributes and characteristics of manhood, and is pronounced a "chattle." (Shame.) Now, you have just that same word with the *h* left out — "cattle." (Hear, hear.) And the difference between cattle and chattle is the difference between quadruped and biped. (Laughter.) So far as animate property is concerned, and so far as inanimate property is concerned, it is just the difference between locomotive property and stationary property. (Hear, hear.) Now, all the Slave States stand on the radical principle that a slave is not for purposes of law any longer to be ranked in the category of human beings, but that he is a piece of property, and to be treated, to all intents and purposes, as a piece of property; and the law did not blush, nor do the judges blush, nowadays, who interpret that law. (Hear.) But how is it that the Constitution of the United States, when it begins to speak of these very same slaves, names them? Does it call them "slaves"? Does it speak of them as in "servitude"? It lifts itself up as if consciously inspired with the grandeur of the thought and dignity of man, and says, "Persons held in slavery." (Hear and cheers.) Go to South Carolina, and ask what she calls slaves, and it says "things;" and the

old capitol, at Washington, sullenly reverberates, "No ; persons !" (Cheers.) Go to South Carolina, and her fundamental article says she looks upon slaves as "things ;" and again the Constitution echoes, "No ; persons." (Hear.) Go to the charter of Louisiana with their constitution, or to the southwestern Slave States, and still that doctrine of devils is enunciated—it is "chattle," it is "thing." Looking upon those for whom Christ felt mortal anguish in Gethsemane, and stretched himself on death in Calvary, their laws call them still, "things," and "chattles ;" and still, in suppressed tones of thunder, the Constitution of the United States says "Persons." (Cheers.)

What was it, then, when the country had advanced so far toward universal emancipation, in the period of our national formation, that stopped this onward tide? Two things, commercial and political. First, the wonderful demand for cotton throughout the world, coupled with the facility of producing it, arising from the invention of the cotton gin, that introduced a new element of value. Slaves that before had been worth from three hundred to four hundred dollars, began to be worth five hundred dollars. That knocked away one-third of our adherence to the moral law. Then afterwards they became worth seven hundred dollars, and half the law went—(cheers and laughter); then eight hundred or nine hundred dollars, and then there was no such thing as moral law—(cheers and laughter); then one thousand or twelve hundred dollars, and slavery became one of the beatitudes on the Mount. (Cheers and laughter.) When Moses wrote his laws, delivered by the Highest, he wrote them on tables of stone; but when the Devil, through his minion, wrote his laws, he wrote them on silver. (Cheers and loud laughter.) Their pocket is their Mount

Sinai — (cheers and laughter) ; they are the lineal descendants of those men who before worshipped the golden calf. (Cheers.)

The other cause which prevented the progress of emancipation, that had already so auspiciously begun, was the political cause. The policy of America has been shaped by the essential spirit of slave-holding Southerners. All the aggression, the filibuster, — all the threats to England, and the tauntings of Europe, — and all the belligerence our government has assumed, have been under the inspiration, and under the almost monarchical sway of the Southern oligarchy. (Loud cheering). And now, since Britain has been snubbed by the Southerners, and threatened by the Southerners, and domineered over by the Southerners — (“No”) — yet now, Great Britain has thrown her arms of love around the Southerners, and turns from the Northerners. (No). She don’t? (Cheers.) I have only to say that she has been caught in very suspicious circumstances. (Laughter.) But I have said it, perhaps, as much as anything else, for this very sake, — to bring out from you this expression; to let you know what we know that all the hostility felt in my country toward Great Britain has been sudden; and I want you to say to me, and through me, to my countrymen, that those irritations against the North, and those likings for the South, that have been expressed in your papers, are not the feelings of the great mass of your nation. (Great cheering, the audience rising.) Those cheers already sound in my ears as the coming acclamations of friendly nations; those waving handkerchiefs are the white banners that symbolize peace for all countries. (Cheers.) Join with us, then, Britons. (Cheers.) From you we learnt the doctrine of what a man was worth; from

you we learnt to detest all oppressions ; from you we learnt that it was the noblest thing a man could do, to die for a principle. (Cheers). And now, when we are set in that very course, and are giving our best blood for principle, let the world understand that when America strikes for the liberty of the slave, and of the common people, Great Britain indorses her. (Cheers.)

And now I come to the period in which I, myself, became an actor. (Loud cheers.) From that time to this time, there has been no important movement on the subject of public affairs in the connection of slavery, that I have not either had a part in it, or been a most interested and intimate observer of it, and I shall tell you not what I believe, but what I know. (Hear, hear.) It was extremely difficult to get the voice of the public. Those that first attempted it were made wellnigh martyrs. I remember full well when Burness Prest was mobbed in Cincinnati, and dragged into the Ohio, for no other reason than for anti-slavery sentiments. I remember the early martyrdoms, and for two years, with my pockets filled with pistols, — to the horror, I suppose, of those peace-loving slavery men, — I patrolled the streets, made a special constable for the defence of these poor creatures' houses. I suppose it was very naughty to meddle with fire-arms ; but then I was not a minister ; then I was only a student for the ministry, and I did not fire the pistols off once. Mr. Weld, Mr. Garrison, Allan Stewart, now gone, and a multitude of men whom I ought to have prepared myself to mention, that I might not, in mentioning the few, seem to neglect the many, — these were the pioneers. You have been pleased to say in this address, that I have been one of those pioneers. I unloosed the shoe-latches of the pioneers, and that is all. I was but little more

than a boy ; and I bear witness that the hardest blows and the most cruel sufferings were endured by men before I was thrust far enough into public life to take any particular share, and I do not consider myself entitled to rank amongst the pioneers. They were better men than I. Those noble men did resist this downward tendency of the North. They were rejected by society. To be called an abolitionist, excluded a man from respectable society in those days. To be called an abolitionist, blighted any man's prospects in political life in those days. To be called an abolitionist, marked a man's store, — his very customers avoided him as if he had the plague. To be called an abolitionist, in those days, shut up the doors of confidence from him in the church, and he was regarded as a disturber of the peace. Nevertheless they maintained their testimony. (Loud cheers.) Little by little, they gained the conscience, — they gained the understanding. And as, when old Luther spoke, thundering in the ears of Europe the long-buried treasures of the Bible, there were hosts against him, and the elect few, nevertheless, gathered little by little, themselves. Many Luthers thundered God's truth of human liberty, and they were followed more and more for half a score of years, until they began to be numerous enough to be an influential party in the State elections. (Cheers)

In 1848, I think it was, when that Buffalo platform was laid ; it was the first endeavor of the Northern States to form a platform that should carry rebuke to the slaveholding ideas in the North. Before this, however, there was help given us from the South ; and I can say that, under God, the South have done more to bring on this work of emancipation than the North itself. (Hear, hear.) First, they began to declare, after the days of Mr. Calhoun,

that they accepted slavery no more as a misfortune, but as a divine blessing. Mr. Calhoun advanced the doctrine, which is now the marrow of secession, that it was the duty of government, not merely to protect States from interference, but that it was the duty of the general government to make slavery equal with liberty. (Cheers.) These monstrous doctrines began to be the development of future ambitions. The South, having the control of government, knew from the inherent weakness of their system, that if it were confined, it was as a huge flock of herds pasturing on small pastures, that soon gnaws the grass to the roots, and must have other pasture or it dies. (Cheers.) Slavery is of such a nature that if you do not give it continual change of feeding-ground, it must die. (Renewed cheering.) And then came, one after another the assertions of the South of rights never dreamed of. From them came the Mexican war for territory ; from them came Texas and its entrance as a Slave State ; from them came that organized rowdyism in Congress that browbeat every Northern man who had not sworn fealty to slavery ; that filled all the courts of Europe with ministers holding slave doctrines ; that gave the majority of the seats on the bench to slave-owning judges ; and that gave, in fact, all our chief offices of trust to either slave-owners, or to men who licked the feet of slave-holding men. (Loud cheers.) Then came that ever-memorable period, when, for the very purpose of humbling the North, and making her drink the bitter cup of humiliation, and making them understand that the North was inferior, and the South their natural lords, was passed the Fugitive Slave Bill. (Loud hisses,) There was no need of that. There was already existing just as good an instrument for so infernal a purpose as any fiend could have wished. Against that infamy my soul revolted,

and these lips protested, and I defied to its face the government, and told them, "I will have none of your unrighteous laws; send to me that fugitive who is fleeing from his master, and I will step between him and his pursuer." (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Not once nor twice have my doors shut between oppression and the oppressed; and the church itself over which I minister has been the unknown refuge of many and many a one. (Cheers.) But whom the Devil promises he cheats. (Laughter.) That peace that was the thirty pieces of silver paid for the Christ of man, turned into fire, and burnt the hands that took it. For how long was it after this promised peace that the Missouri Compromise was abolished in an infamous disregard of holy compacts? (Loud cheers.) It never ought to have been made; but having been made, it ought never to have been broken by the South, (Cheers.) And with no other pretence than the robber's pretence that might makes right, they did destroy it, that they might carry slavery far North. That was what was needed to arouse the long-reluctant patriotism of the North. (Cheers.) By the abolition of this compromise another Slave State was immediately to have been brought into the Union to balance the ever-growing free territories of the Northwest. Then it was that there arose a majesty that had no record thus far, and has had no parallel, and instead of merely protesting, young men and maidens, laboring men, farmers, and mechanics, all of them sped with a sacred desire to rescue free territory from the toils of slavery, and emigrated in hundreds and in thousands, that when this territory should come in to vote, it should vote as a Free State. (Loud cheers.) A more infamous and atrocious system of cheating never was practised than that by which the South sought, by perjury, by intimi-

dation, by the prostituted use of the United States army, to force a vile system upon these unwilling men who had voted almost unanimously for liberty and against slavery in that State. (Hear.)

But at last the day of utter darkness had passed, and the gray twilight was on the morning of the horizon. At last, for the first time, I believe, in the whole conflict between the South and the North, the victory went to the North, and Kansas became a Free State. (Cheers.) Kansas became an impulse that was given to popular feeling, and in 1856 Mr. Frémont was nominated for the presidency. He came so near to being elected that, but for an enormous cheating in the polls at Pennsylvania, he would have been elected; but, instead of Mr. Frémont, Mr. Buchanan was returned. (Hisses.) We aimed at an eagle and hit a buzzard. (Laughter.) Now I call you to witness that in a period of twenty-five or thirty years of constant conflicts with the South, at every single step they gained the advantage, with the single exception of Kansas. What was the conduct of the North? Did they threaten secession? (No.) Did they threaten violence? (No.) So sure were they of the ultimate triumph of that which was right, provided free speech was left to combat error and wrong, that they patiently bided their time. By this time, the North was cured of its love of or indifference to slavery. By this time, a new conscience had been formed in the North, and a vast majority of all the Northern men at this time stood fair and square on the doctrine of anti-slavery. (Cheers.) It went through all the quicksands of that infamous demonstration of four years, in which senators, sworn by the Constitution, were plotting machinations to destroy the government, in which the members of the cabinet, who drew their pay month by month,

used their time and their official position to steal arms, to prepare fortifications, to make ready, and in which the most astounding spectacle that the world ever saw, was witnessed, — our great people paying men to sit in the places of power and office to betray them. (Hear, hear.) During all those four years what did we? We protested and waited, and said, “God shall give us the victory, for it is God’s truth that we wield, and God’s truth we promote, and with God, in his own good time, shall be the giving of the victory.” (Great cheering.) In all this time we never made an inroad on the rights of the South. (Cheers.) We never asked for retaliatory law. We never taxed their commerce, or touched it with our little finger. We envied them none of their manufactures; but sought to promote them. We did not attempt to abate, by one ounce, their material prosperity; we longed for their prosperity. (Cheers.) Slavery we always hated; the Southern men never. (Cheers.) They were wrong. And in our conflicts with them, we have felt as all men in conflict feel. We were jealous, and so were they. We were in the right cause, they in the wrong. (Cheers.) We never envied them their territory; and it was in the heart and it was the faith of the whole North, that, in seeking for the abatement of slavery, and its final abolition, we were conferring upon the South the greatest boon which one nation, or part of a nation, could confer upon another. That she was to come down, and pass through the valley of humiliation, during the progress of her institutions, till she passed from forced labor to free labor, I have no doubt; but it was not in our heart to humble her; but rather to help and sympathize with her. I defy time and history to point to a more honorable conduct than that of the free North toward the South, during all these days.

In 1860, Mr. Lincoln was elected. (Cheers.) I ask you to take notice of the conduct of the two sides at this point. For thirty years we had been experiencing sectional defeats at the hands of the Southerners. For thirty years and more we had seen our sons proscribed, because loyal to liberty, or worse than proscribed, — suborned, and made subservient to slavery. (Cheers.) We had seen our judges corrupt, our ministers apostate, our merchants running headlong after gold against principle ; but we maintained our fealty to the law and Constitution, and had faith in victory by legitimate means. But when, by the means pointed out by the Constitution, and sanctified by the usage of three-quarters of a century, Mr. Lincoln, in a fair open field, was elected President of the United States, did the South submit? (Cries of “No,” and cheers.) No offence had been committed, — none threatened ; but the arrogation was that the election of a man known to be pledged against the extension of slavery was not compatible with the safety of slavery in the South, and on that ground they took steps for secession. Every honest mode to prevent it, all patience on the part of the North, all pusillanimity on the part of Mr. Buchanan ; while he still sat, before his successor came into office, he left nothing undone to make matters worse, did nothing to make things better. The North was patient then, the South impatient. Then came the steps. The question was put to the South, and with the exception of South Carolina, every State in the South gave a popular vote against secession ; and yet, such was the jugglery of political leaders, before a few months had passed, they had precipitated every State into secession. That could never have been where there were common people. The South has common herds of people, the North had herds of what Lord Brougham lamentably

termed mobs. Lord Brougham, upon whose plenitude of days the light of God shone so gloriously, is bringing his failing days to scandalize the intelligent people of the North, by calling them mobs. (Cheers and counter cheers.)

I call you to take notice that the people of the South thought the government of the States could not be administered by an honest man without prejudice to slavery. It could not. The government of the United States is such that, if it be administered equitably, still, in the long run, it would destroy slavery, and it was the prospect of this that led the South to make precipitate secession. (Cheers.) Now against all these facts, it is attempted to make England believe that slavery has had nothing to do with this War. (Laughter.) You might as well have attempted to persuade Noah that the clouds had nothing to do with the flood; perhaps some man will persuade you that palm-trees and orange-trees will grow at the North Pole; perhaps some one will persuade you next that there is no sand in the great desert. It is the most monstrous absurdity ever born in the womb of folly. (Cheers.) Nothing to do with slavery! It had to do with nothing else. (Cheers.) Slavery was the mother of Rebellion. (Cheers.) The father of it was, — Oh, no, we never mention him. (Much laughter.) Against this withering fact, against this damning allegation, what is their escape? The attempt is to say, the North is just as bad as the South. (Laughter.) Now, we are coming to the marrow of it. (Cheers.) If the North is as bad as the South, why did not the South find it out before you did? If the North has been in favor of oppressing the black man, and just as much in favor of slavery of the South, how is it that the South has gone to war against the North because of their belief to the contrary? (A voice: "Slavery does not pay

in the North!'') Gentlemen, I hold in my hand a published report of the speech of the amiable, intelligent, and credulous president, I believe, of the Society for Southern Independence. (Laughter.) I have some curiosities in it. (Laughter.) That you may know that Southerners are not all dead yet, I will read a paragraph :—

The South had labored hitherto under the imputation, and it had constantly been thrown in the teeth of all who supported that struggling nation, that they, by their proceedings, were tending to support the existence of slavery. This was an impression which he thought they ought carefully to endeavor to remove. (Cheers, and laughter.) Because it was one which was injurious to their cause (cheers), not only among those who had the feeling of all Englishmen — of a horror of slavery — but, also, because strong religious bodies in this country made a point of it, and felt it very strongly indeed. (Cheers)

I never like to speak behind a man's back. I like to speak right to men's faces what I have to say ; and I could wish that the higher felicity than that which has been accorded to me to-night might have been given, — to have had Lord Wharncliffe present, that I might address to him a few simple and artless Christian inquiries. (Cheers.) For there can be no question that there is a strong impression that the South has had something to do with slavery. (Cheers.) Indeed, on our side of the water, there are many persons that affirm it. (Laughter and cheers.) And, as his lordship thinks that it is the peculiar duty of this now agglomerated and agglutinated association for Southern independence to do away with that impression, I beg to submit to them that, in the first place, they ought to do away with four million slaves in the South ; for I, for my own part, cannot say but that I think there are uncharitable men enough living in this

world to think that a nation that has four million slaves in it has a good deal to do with supporting slavery. (Cheers.) And when he has done that, it might perhaps be pertinent to suggest to his lordship that there should be a little something done to the Montgomery Constitution of the South, which is changed from the old Federal Constitution in only one or two points, the most essential of which is that it introduces and legalizes slavery, and makes it unconstitutional ever to do it away; and they are under that constitution. Now, I submit that that wants scrubbing a little. (Cheers.) Then I would also respectfully lay at his lordship's feet — more beautifully embossed, if I could, than this addressed to me is — the speech of Vice-President Stephens (hear, hear) in which he declares that all nations have been mistaken, and that the subjugation of an inferior race is the only proper way to maintain the liberty of a superior; in which he teaches Calvary a new lesson; in which he gives the lie into the face of the Saviour himself, who came to teach us that by as much as a man was stronger than another, he owed himself to that other. (Loud cheers.) Not alone are Christ's blood-drops our salvation, but those word-drops of sacred truth which cleanse the heart and conscience by the expression of precious truths and principles, themselves are our salvation, as well as the atoning blood; and if there be in the truths of Christ one more eminent than another, it is, "He that would be chief, let him be the servant of all." But this audacious hierarch of infidelity, Mr. Stephens, in the face of God, and before mankind, in this day of universal Christianity, declares that the way for a nation to have manhood, is to crush out the liberty of an inferior and weaker race. And he declares ostentatiously and boastingly that the foundation of the Southern republic is on that corner-

stone. (Loud cheers, "No, no," and renewed cheers.) I beg leave, when next Lord Wharncliffe speaks for the edification of this delighted English people (laughter), — I beg leave to submit that this speech of Mr. Stephens' requires a little scouring. (Applause.) And then, if all the other allegations and evidences that the South are upholding slavery are to be the peculiar work of the Southern Independence Association, not Hercules, in his palmy days, had such work and wages before him as they have got. (Loud cheers.) We shan't be troubled with them. They will be knee-deep and elbow-deep in their business of scrubbing and scouring, and Lord Wharncliffe may bid farewell to the sweets of domestic leisure and to the pursuit of the interests of state, as all his amusements hereafter will be scrubbing and scouring. (Loud cheers.) But there is another precious paragraph that I will read : —

He believed that the strongest supporters of slavery were the merchants of New York and Boston. He always understood, and had never seen the statement contradicted, that the whole of the ships fitted out for the transport of slaves from Africa to Cuba, were owned by Northerners. (Loud laughter.)

His lordship, if he will do me the honor to read my speech, shall hear it contradicted in the most explicit terms. There have been enough Northern ships engaged, but not by any means all, nor the most, Baltimore has a præminence in that matter ; Charleston, and New Orleans, and Mobile, all of them. And those ships fitted out in New York were just as much despised, and loathed, and hissed by the honorable merchants of that great metropolis, as if they had put up the black flag of piracy. (Loud cheers.) Does it conduce to good feeling between two nations to make such atrocious slanders as these ? His lordship goes on to say : —

That in the Northern States the slave was placed in even a worse position than he was in the South. He spoke from experience, having visited the country twice.

I am most surprised, and yet gratified, to learn that Lord Wharncliffe speaks of the suffering of the slaves from experience. (Laughter and cheers.) I never was aware that he had been put in that unhappy situation. Has he toiled on the sugar plantation? Has he taken the night for his friend, avoiding the day? Has he sped through cane-brakes, hunted by hounds, suffering hunger and heat and cold by turns, until he has made his way to the far Northern States? (Cheers.) Has he had this experience? The grammar is good. It is the word experience I call attention to. If his lordship says that it is his observation I will accept the correction. I continue, —

In railway carriages and hotels, the negroes were treated as pariahs and outcasts, and never looked upon as men and brothers, but rather as dogs. (Cheers.)

In all railway cars where Southerners travel, in all hotels where Southerners' money was the chief support, this is true. But allow me to say frankly that there has been some occasion for such a statement, and there has been a prejudice in the North against the negro. I speak this the more because it has been a part of my duty any time these last sixteen years to protest against it; and a well-dressed and well-behaved colored man has never had molestation or question on entering my church, and taking any seat he pleases in the whole house, not because I had influence with my people to prevent it, but because God gave me a people whose own good sense and consciences led them to do it of their own accord. But from this vantage ground it has been my duty to mark out the unrighteous prejudice of which the colored people have suffered

in the North; and it is a part of the great moral revolution which is going on, that the prejudices have been in a great measure vanquished, and are now wellnigh trodden down. In the city of New York there is one street railroad where colored people cannot ride, but in the others they may, and in all the railroads of New England there is not one railroad in which a colored man would be questioned if he rides there. I believe that the colored man may start from the line of the British dominions from the North and traverse all New England and New York till he touches the waters of the western lakes and never be molested or questioned, passing on as any decent white man would pass. But let me ask you how came there to be these prejudices? They did not exist before the War of Independence. How did it grow up? It grew up as one of the accursed offshoots of slavery. Where you make a race odious by oppression, all that belong to that race will participate in that odium, whether they be free or slave. And the South have maintained that institution which has made the African a prejudiced man even in the North. How next did that prejudice come to exist? It was on account of the multitude of Irishmen who came to the States. (Cheers and interruption.) I declare my admiration for many of these people who have illustrated the page of history in every department. It is part of the fruit of ignorance, and, as they allege, the oppression that they have suffered, that it has made them oppressors. I bear witness that there is no class of people in America who are so bitter against the colored people, and so eager for slavery, as the ignorant, the poor, uninstructed Irishmen. ("Oh," and "hear," and "Three cheers for old Ireland.") But although there have been wrongs done to them in the North, the condition of the free colored people in the North is unspeakably better than in the

South. They own their wives and children. (Hear, hear.) They have the right to select their place and their kind of labor; their rights of property are protected just as much as ours are. The right of education is accorded to them. There is in the city of New York more than ten million dollars of property owned by free colored people. (Hear.) They have their own schools; they have their own churches; their own orators, and there is no more gifted man, and no man whose superb eloquence more deserves to be listened to than Frederick Douglass, (loud cheers); and if you think that he has too much white blood, then there is Samuel Ward, who is as black as black can be; and if you can find any man in the South who is superior to him in sense, in logic, and in eloquence, you will find a man who has never yet appeared in any of their councils. I say still further than that, that since the breaking out of this war, the good conduct of the slaves at the South, and the good conduct of the free colored people at the North, has gone far to increase the kind feelings of the whites toward them; and since they have begun to fight for their rights of manhood, there are beginning to be the elements of a popular enthusiasm for them. (Loud cheers.) I will venture to say that there is no place on the earth where so many colored men stand in a position so auspicious for the future as the free colored men and the freed slaves of the South and of the North. (Cheers.) I meant to have said a good deal more to you than I have, or I shall have time to say. ("Go on.") I have endeavored to place before you those facts which go to show that slavery was the real cause of this war, and that if it came to the citation of facts whether North or South were the most guilty in this matter, there could be no question, I think, before any honorable tribunal, any jury, any deliberative body, that the

decision will be that the South, from beginning to end, for the sake of slavery, has been aggressive, and the North patient. Since the war broke out, the North has been more and more coming upon the high ground of moral principle, until now the government has taken ground for emancipation, and has issued its Proclamation of Emancipation. (Groans, and counter cheers, and a voice, "Go home.") (There was at this point an outrageous interruption from a person in the gallery, who was removed.)

It has been said very often in my hearing, and oftener I have read it since I have been in England, — the last reading I had of it was from the pen of Lord Brougham (hisses, and cries of "chair, chair," and disorder, which continuing for some time, Mr. Beecher sat down. When it had somewhat subsided, he continued), — it is said that the North is fighting for the Union, and not for the emancipation of the African. Why are we fighting for the Union but because we believe that the Union and its government, administered now by Northern men, will work out the emancipation of every living being. (Loud cheering.) If it be meant that the North went into this war with the immediate object of the emancipation of the slaves, it never professed to do it; but it went into war for the Union, with the distinct understanding on both sides, that if the Union was maintained slavery could not live long. (Cheers.) Do you suppose that it is wise to separate the interest of the slave from the interest of the other people on the continent, and to inaugurate a policy which took in him alone? He has got to stand or fall with all of us (hear, hear); and the only sound policy for the North is that policy which shall be for the benefit of the North, of the South, of the blacks, and of the whites. (Cheers.) And we hold that the maintenance of the Union, the funda-

mental principles which are contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, — that this is the way to secure to the African ultimately his rights and his best estate. So that in this way the North did come into the conflict with the prayer, the hope, rather than, I had almost said, the expectation, that God would bless their endeavor to the perfection of liberty over all our continent. (Loud cheers.) The condition of the North was that of a ship carrying passengers tempest-tossed, and while the sailors were laboring, and the captain and officers directing, some grumblers would come up from amongst the passengers and say, “ You are all the time working to save the ship, but you don’t care to save the passengers.” I should like to know how you would save the passengers so well as by taking care of the ship. (At this point, the chairman read to the meeting the telegram, relative to the seizure of the rams at Liverpool. The effect was startling; the audience rose to their feet, while cheer after cheer was given.) Allow me to say of the conduct of the colored people, our citizens (for in New York, colored people vote, as they do also in Massachusetts and in several other Northern States, Mr. Wharncliffe — Lord Wharncliffe, I beg his pardon, — to the contrary notwithstanding), — that it is a subject of universal remark that no men on either side have carried themselves more gallantly, more bravely, than the colored regiments that have been fighting for their government and their liberty. My own youngest brother is colonel of one of those regiments, and from him I learn many of the most interesting facts concerning them. The son of one of the most estimable and endeared of my friends in my congregation, was the colonel of that regiment that charged at Fort Wagner. He fell at the head of his men, — hundreds fell, — and when inquest was made for his body, it was reported by

the men in the fort, that he had been buried with his niggers ; and on his gravestone yet it shall be written, “ The man that dared to lead the poor and the oppressed out of their oppression, died with them and for them and was buried with them.” (Cheers.) On the Mississippi, the conduct of the colored regiments is so good, that, although many of the officers who command them are Southern men, and until recently had the strongest Southern prejudices, those prejudices are almost entirely broken down, and there is no difficulty whatever in finding officers, Northern or Southern, to take command of just as many of these regiments as can be raised. It is an honorable testimony to the good conduct and courage of these long-abused men, whom God is now bringing by the Red Sea of war out of the land of Egypt and into the land of promise. (Cheers.) I have said that it would give me great pleasure to answer any courteous questions that might be proposed to me. If I cannot answer them, I will do the next best thing, — tell you so. (Hear.) The length to which this meeting has been protracted, and the very great conviction that I seem to have wrought by my remarks, on this Pentecostal occasion, in yonder Gentile crowd, (loud laughter,) admonish me that we had better open some kind of “ meeting of inquiry.” (Renewed laughter.) It will give me pleasure, as a gentleman, to receive questions from any gentleman, (hear, hear,) and to give such reply as is in my power.

The reverend gentleman remained standing for a few moments, as if to give the opportunity of interrogation, but no one rising to question him, he sat down amidst great cheers. The speech lasted nearly two and a quarter hours.

The chairman than declared the business of the meeting to be at an end, and expressed his thanks for the good order

which had been maintained, contrary to certain ill-natured predictions. (Cheers and laughter.)

The chair having been taken by Mr. Bazley, a vote of thanks to Mr. Taylor, for having presided, was moved by Mr. Beecher, seconded by Mr. S. Watts, Jr., and passed by acclamation.

Mr. Taylor, in returning thanks, said that it was a subject of congratulation, that the enemies to their cause would be now prevented from saying, as they had falsely said before, that the meeting had broken up in confusion. (Loud cheers.)

The National Anthem was then played on the organ, and the audience dispersed, several hundreds previously pressing round Mr. Beecher, to shake hands with him.

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